1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

say in their administration, nor do they collect taxes from them. From an administrative point of view the inhabitants of these towns are considered as Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects and on proceeding abroad would be given Qu'aiti passports. In the same way, although members of the various tribes of the Hadhramaut are theoretically either Qu'aiti or Kathīri subjects, they are not directly ruled by the Qu'aiti or Kathīri Governments; the Sultans have treaty relations with the tribes. It may often happen that both Governments have agreements with the same tribe, but, as will be seen later, it is possible to consider each tribe as being subject to either Qu'aiti or Kathīri influence. There is no form of representative Government in the Hadhramaut.

Population.

An informant quoted by Van den Berg estimated the population of the Hadhramaut in 1886 as follows:—

Shibam to Shabwa, including Wadis 'Irma, Duhr and Rakhia ...	20,000
Wadis 'Amd, Du'an, and Al 'Ain	25,000
From Shibam to Tarim	50,000
From Tarim to Seihut	6,000
From north of the main wadi to the desert	15,000
From south of the main wadi to the sea	16,000
Shihr and its environs	12,000
Mukalla and its environs	6,000
Total	150,000

Van den Berg, however, appears to consider this excessive. He gives the population of Seiyun as 15,000, Tarim 10,000, Shibam 2,000, Al Ghurfa 1,500, and 'Einat 1,000.

According to *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (1909) the Qu'aiti are estimated at 50,000, including Beduin tribes in the pay of the Qu'aiti, and the Kathīri at 7,000 armed men.

Van der Meulen in *Hadhramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled* gives the following estimates: Shiheir 1,500, Shihr 6,000, Mukalla 12,000, Du'an 20,000 and 1,500 Beduins, Hajarein 3,000, Hureidha 2,000, Shibam 8,000-9,000, Tarim 12,000, Seiyun 12,000-15,000, 'Einat 5,000, and Shibam, Al Qatn, and the villages between, 20,000.

Mr. O. H. Little in his report on the *Geography and Geology of Mukalla* estimates the population of Mukalla at about 10,000, but Mr. H. M. Heald, who accompanied Mr. Little to report on the agricultural resources, was given an estimate of 30,000.

The official estimate of the population contained in the Annual Administration Report of Aden is 300,000. In Mukalla I was given 400,000. Using the estimated figures of population of towns, and of the number of armed men in various tribes, which were given

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

to me in the Hadhramaut and which are stated in detail in subsequent chapters, I should say that 260,000 is a safer estimate. In making this calculation an endeavour has been made to avoid counting groups twice when they occur under different headings, and allowance has been made for sections of tribes for which estimates of armed men are not available. Where total figures are given for certain tribes for which a figure of the number of armed men is also available it appears that the ratio is about three to one, and for this reason numbers of armed men have been multiplied by three to obtain estimated total population. The following are the data used to obtain the total figure :—

Qu'aiti Provinces.

Shihr ...	Towns		11,000
	'Awâbitha		2,500
	Other tribes, men only 10,000	say	30,000
			43,500
Mukalla	Towns (Mukalla 16,000, Ghail 5,000, Shibeir 1,500) ...		22,500
	Tribesmen, 2,100	say	6,300
			29,800
		say	30,000
Du'an	Towns of Du'an and Leisar with certain deductions, men only		12,700
	Tribesmen		5,000
			17,700
		say	53,000
	(This calculation compares well with estimate of 50,000 given).		
Hajr	Kasina		1,500
	Tribesmen, 5,000	say	15,000
			16,500
Shibam	Towns and villages		10,500
	Al Mahfudh		2,000
	Other tribes (including Sei'ar) 6,700	say	20,100
			32,600
		say	33,000

Other Qu'aiti Districts.

Towns (Hureidha and 'Einat)			7,000
Tribesmen (principally Ja'da, Tamimi and Manâhil), 5,250		say	15,750
			22,750
		say	23,000

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

[1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

LAND AND PEOPLES OF THE HADHRAMAUT, ADEN PROTECTORATE

Ruthven W. Pike

ALTHOUGH Southern Arabia borders on the much-traveled route to India and ocean liners daily touch its shore at the port of Aden, it has been little reconnoitered, far less than the northern part of the peninsula. A chronological account of exploration in the part of Southern Arabia known as the Hadhramaut, by Mr. W. H. Ingrams (now Chief Secretary in Aden), appeared in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1938. It is entirely due to the tactful and untiring efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who, with the coöperation of Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf, member of the wealthiest family in the Hadhramaut, have succeeded in establishing peace and understanding among the many tribes of the region, that it is now possible for a European to journey unmolested within prescribed regions.

The boundaries of the Aden Protectorate, of which the Hadhramaut is a part, extend into heretofore unexplored territory and have not been surveyed in the manner customary in settled areas. The limits are well understood, however. They are formed by the Gulf of Aden on the south, the district of Dhufar on the east, the southern margin of the great interior sandy desert of Rub' al Khali on the north, and a line running N 45° E from Perim Island to the Rub' al Khali on the west.

The population is densest near Aden and its mountainous hinterland. There are, however, a great many people to the east of Aden, who live along the coast and in the interior of the Hadhramaut; Mr. Ingrams estimates their number at 260,000. There are also many towns and villages between the mouth of the Wadi Maseila and the Dhufar Coast, with a population thought to be about 25,000. Mukalla, with 16,000 inhabitants, is the chief port of the Hadhramaut and seat of the British Colonial Administration for the surrounding area.

Climate

The climate at sea level between October and April is healthful and agreeable to one accustomed to living in temperate regions. On the interior plateau, or Jol, at altitudes of 3000 to 4000 feet, and in the Wadi Hadhramaut, at 2000 feet, the nights are cool, with minimum temperatures reaching 50° F., and are apt to be windy. At such times ordinary summer clothing and light bedding do not afford enough protection.

From April on, the average and maximum daily temperatures

8 Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shâbwa and the west end of the tableland.

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain-

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1: 40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[1] It is suggested that the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall.

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau

[1] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Seiʾar Country and through the Wadi Mawla, *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 524-551; reference on p. 527.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the protectorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate

So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

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THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [367] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūḳ, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūḳ. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

113 1 *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

2 D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

3 Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

4 *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

5 For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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Zi: Scully G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadiramaut MM7
Middle East Islands (2)
Socotra

Socotra has also a good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MN2

133 vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Never-
132 theless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in
248 normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the
[312] highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from
132 wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food
241 has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supple-
439 mented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until
167 recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from
262 the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

161 The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952
631 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of
648 varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have
643 one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut 1952

Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East :
Hadhramaut MM2

CHAPTER VIII

COTTON IN ARABIA

Arabia is divided into numerous groups, most of which are actually principalities. The boundaries of the subdivisions are indefinite and so is the authority of the local rulers in most cases. Some of these groups like to call themselves independent countries. One is called a kingdom. Some are called protectorates. The British have exercised the major influence over all these groups for 50 years and still do but in varying ways. One small spot of land actually belongs to the British Crown.

ADEN PROTECTORATE

The narrow strip of land along the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula includes a number of territories and dependencies of Arab chiefs which have been organised under a protectorate treaty with the British, and is called the Protectorate of Aden.

The Protectorate is about the size of Arizona. It has about 660,000 people, many of whom are nomads. The country is mostly mountainous though there are a few valleys and flood plains capable of cultivation. The Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that there are about 270,000 acres actually in cultivation at the present time. As the plains receive only about four inches of rainfall annually, irrigation is required. Considerable water is available as rainfall in the mountains is rather heavy, approaching 40 inches annually, but facilities are inadequate for catching and directing the water.

The economy of the protectorate rests almost solely on agriculture. The principal crops are grains and some fruits, principally dates. While a small quantity of coarse grains is normally exported, the country usually imports about half its bread grain requirements.

COTTON

Cotton has been grown in this area in small quantities for hundreds of years, but never in commercial quantities until very recent years when British interests began promoting production.

The following article on the present status and prospects of cotton production in the Protectorate was written especially for this report by the research staff of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, London, with the collaboration of Major Congdon, Manager of the Abyan Board in the Aden Protectorate.

RECENT HISTORY

"During the last war to increase the production of food, the old Abyan irrigation system was reopened and the headworks were partially restored under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The reclaimed areas were used mainly for sorghum, bulrush millet and simsim, but it soon became

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

181 and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided 721 Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite 619 an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

[651] Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June 721 disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was 619 not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, [647] ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The [712] difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled 622a at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

619 There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the 411 carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba 701 Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

000 Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

S.Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

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The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

?: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1949–50	1950–51
	£	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	45,313	64,026
Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment)	60,754	75,051
Subsidies to local forces	5,257	3,638
Medical	6,964	7,005
Education	3,030	3,926
Aden Protectorate College	3,614	3,681
Agriculture	10,245	11,172
	135,177	168,499

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 M041 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2

PART V

Chapter 1: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1951–52	1952–53
	£	£
Staff and Miscellaneous . . .	40,706	51,054
Government Guards (including W/T establishments)	68,602	84,858
Subsidies to Local Forces . .	3,411	2,801
Health	7,315	16,110
Education	3,213	7,753
Aden Protectorate College . .	2,229	—
Agriculture	10,158	14,083
	135,624	176,659

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

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lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden.

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 350,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Mukalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several sizable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Mukalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 5,000.

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

39: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

the summer thunderstorms are due. These latter are often extremely violent, even terrifying. Hail occasionally falls. Harvesting of one crop or another goes on throughout the year—chiefly bearded wheat, barley, maize, lucerne, and coffee (but the latter is less frequent than over the Yemen border). Indigo and cotton (a very small bush) are grown in the Nisāb district and grapes on the Yemen border.

In the sixth zone—the Empty Quarter or Great Red Desert—the population is pastoral and follows the grazing according to the rainfall, which is irregular and scanty. Along the principal wādis, which lead north towards the desert, there are permanent settlements and cereal crops are raised, chiefly millet, the stalks of which make useful fodder when grazing is scarce. The semi-nomadic part of the population returns to the settlements to await the next grazing-season in the desert.

In the Aden Interior as a whole the prevailing diseases are small-pox, fever (especially malarial), and, to some extent, consumption. The 'Yemen ulcer' is also common among the tribes.

Population

The population of the Aden Interior (considered as a whole, and including that portion known strictly as the Aden Protectorate), settled and nomadic, may be computed at about half a million. The district is composed of a number of Tribal Confederations or Sultanates, some lying within the limits of the Protectorate proper, some without.

The limits of the Aden Protectorate proper are the delimitation line, previously mentioned, from Ras Turbah to a point some few miles north of Dhāla, and thence a somewhat vaguely defined line continuing at first in a south-easterly direction and then in a generally easterly direction to the coast of the Gulf of Aden near the small settlement of Maqātīn. They enclose an area of about 4,200 sq. miles, having a population of 100,000. The tribal confederations lying within this boundary are: the Subeihi, 'Abdāli, Fadhli, Haushabi, Amīri, 'Alawi, 'Aqrabi, and other smaller tribes; and without are the Yāfa', 'Aulaqi, Beida, Oleh, and 'Audillah ('Audali). The tribes of the Protectorate have a larger proportion of non-combatants and are more settled than those of the remoter interior; the bulk are to be found in the towns and villages of the littoral belt, the chief centres being Lahej, Waht, Shūghrah, and the Abiyān district.

In dealing with a variety of tribes with such different characteristics it is difficult to generalize; broadly they may be divided